

The Late
APOLOGY

In behalf of the
PAPISTS
RE-PRINTED

And
ANSVVERED,
In behalf of the
ROYALLISTS.

By William Lloyd, D.D.



L O N D O N,
Printed for M. N. 1667.

The End

109A

TO THE
A U T H O R
OF THE
Apology.

S I R,



About fourscore Years ago, in a time when there were such Apprehensions of the Papists as now there are, (and howsoever they are now, surely then they were not without cause) some of your Predecessors to palliate the matter, and to make their Governors more secure of them, writ a Book to this effect, that Catholicks are to employ no other *Arms against their Prince but the Arms of Christians, viz. Tears*, and spiritual Means, daily Prayers, and Watchings and Fastings. So you begin,
[My Lords and Gentlemen, The Arms which Christians can use against Lawful Powers in their severity are only Prayers and Tears.]

We cannot say that you writ your Book for the same End as they did. But we do not like it, that you jump so together in the same Beginning.

[Now since nothing can equal the insidious of those we have fled, but the cause, viz. to see our dearest Friends forsake us, we hope it will not offend you, if (after we have a little wip'd our eyes) we sigh out our Complaints to you.]

V. Cambreni
Annals, Ann.
1586. concern-
ing Rabbington's
Conspiracy.

Of the Cause of your Tears, we shall say more anon. Of the *Quantity* of them, you say very extravagantly, *Nothing can equal the infinity of those we have shed.* For you might have excepted those of the Protestants in Queen *Maries* dayes, or of them that suffered in the late Irish Rebellion. You ought to have excepted the Tears of your Fabulous Purgatory: and yet those are said to be short of *Infinity*. But you Jesuites love to be Hyperbolical, whether ranting or whining; as if that Religion which obliges you to damn all other Christians, had likewise forbidden you to speak like other Men.

[We had spoke much sooner, had we not been silent through Consternation to see you inflamed. (Whom with reason we honour) and also to shew our submissive patience, which used no slight nor trick to divert the Debates of Parliament: for nobody can imagine where so many of the great Nobility and Gentry are concerned, but something might have been done; when as in all Ages we see things of publick advantage by the managers dexterity nipt in the bud, even in the very Houses themselves. Far be it from Catholics to perplex Parliaments, who have been the Founders of their Priviledges, and all Antient Laws; Nay, Magna Charta it self had its rise from us, which we do the less boast of, since it was not at first obtained in so solemn and humble a manner.]

In the same Roman Style you commend your own *silence* and *patience*. You boast that you have been the Founders of the Parliaments Priviledges, and all Antient Laws. Of the first, let every man believe as he sees cause. But the second we cannot allow, in either sense, whether you mean it of your selves, or of your Predecessors.

For as now in your Church, men are of two sorts, even so they were heretofore in this Realm. There were some that wholly minded the common Interests of Christian Religion and Civil Government. Others were *Papalini*, asserters and promoters of the Popes usurpations. They which acted in those first capacities were not more your Predecessors than Ours. They which acted in the other were truly and only Yours.

You say,

[We sung our Nunc Dimittis when we saw our Master in his Throne, and you in your deserved Authority and Rule.]

'Tis

'Tis very well. And yet * some of you sang your *Psalm* * Answer to
Exultemus when you saw his Blessed Father upon the Scaffold. But what of that? since the Son is King, who is *Philomax, p. 18.*
 not glad that he is † King? or whom would it not grieve to *† So Argyle said,*
 have his Loyalty called in Question? *Let them take*
all, since my
Lord the King

[Nor could any thing have ever grieved us more, but to have our Loyalty
 called into question by you even at the Insultation of our greatest Adversaries.] *is come home*
in peace.

[If we must suffer let it be by you alone, for that's a double Death to men of
 Honour to have their Enemies not only accusers, but for their insulting Judges
 also.]

Sir, he that is Loyal, and a man of Honour, has no cause to
 fear Death double or single. For our Kings have always
 Declared * that they put no man to death for Religion. * K. James Pre-
 Therefore if you Truly fear Death, it is for Treason. If you monition, p.
 only Pretend this, it is a Calumny. Either way you are no 336. of his
 friend to the Government, for all your pretences to Honour Works.
 and Loyalty.

[These are they that by beginning with us, murdered their Prince and
 wounded you: and shall the same method continue by your approbation?]

We are sure you mean well, though their design be wicked: but never let it
 be recorded in Story, that you forgot your often Vows to us, in joining with
 them that have been the cause of so great Calamity to the Nation.]

How far it is true, that the Kings Murderers began with you,
 we shall consider anon. But it seems you take the Liberty
 of bestowing that Character upon whom you please;
 that no man hereafter may dare move for the Execution of
 any Law against you, for fear of being said to continue the
 Method of the King's Murderers.

As for any Vows that we have made to you, whatsoever
 they are, you are more sure of them than we can be of any
 that you make to us, for we have no Pope to dispense with
 them; Neither is it recorded in Story, * that English Prote- * P. Inf. K.
 stants ever join'd with the Enemies of their Nation. Charles his Te-
 stimony in his

[Of all Calumnies against Catholics, we have admired at none so much Letter to the
 as that their Principles are said to be inconsistent with Government, and they Prince,
 themselves thought ever prone to Rebellion.]

'Tis a Calumny of yours to call those things Calu-
 nies

nies which are True, and which you cannot Deny without such a Presumption as we should much *admire* in you if it were not so very Ordinary. Concerning your *Principles*, where should we look for them? but in your Councils, your Decretals, and the Books of your Divines. In each of these we are taught, that the Pope has a Power to depose Kings, and to discharge Subjects from their Allegiance: which Doctrines are utterly *inconsistent with Government*: for whosoever believes them, no Prince can be secure of him. But whosoever is a Papist, is bound to believe them. And he that has imbib'd this Faith, may well be *thought ever prone to Rebellion*.

Conc. Lateran.
117. c. 3.

The Council of *Lateran* under Pope *Innocent III.* expressly Ordains, that in case any Prince be a favourer of Hereticks, after admonition given, *the Pope shall discharge his Subjects from their Allegiance, and shall give away his Kingdom to some Catholick, that may root out those Hereticks, and possess his Kingdom without contradiction.* 'Tis observable, that this Pope was himself a deposer of Kings, namely of *John King of England*, and of *Otho IV.* the Emperor; and also that this Council which made Rebellion a Duty, was the first that made Transubstantiation an Article of Faith.

Next for the Bulls and Decrees of your Popes, which according to *Bellarmin* are sufficient to *make that to be sin which is not sin, or not to be sin which is sin*: it would be tedious to instance in all that could be produc'd to this purpose.

From *Gregory VII.* downward, such a Trade was driven of deposing Kings, that no weak Prince could wear his Crown, but at the Pope's courtesie. And that it might never be otherwise, Pope *Boniface VIII.* declares it for Law in these words: *We fry, and Define, and Pronounce, that it is absolutely Necessary to salvation, for every humane Creature to be subject to the Bishop of Rome.* Which Oracle is thus interpreted by *Bertrand*; every humane Creature (i.) Every Magistrate, Must be subject, &c. (i.) Must submit himself to be deposed, when the Pope thinks fit. And that the Gloss doth not injure the Text, it appears by the

Tenor

Extrav. de
Magistate &
Obed. c. 1.
MAGN. SANCTUM.

1 Pet. 2. 13.
magis obtem-
perare vobis.
Vulg. Lat. Om-
ni humana
creature.

Tenor of the Decree; especially by those words about the middle of it, that the *Spiritual Power is to order the Worldly Power, and to Judge it if it be not as it ought; according to that in Jeremy, I have set thee over Nations and over Kingdoms, Jer. 1. 10. &c.* In which suppletive, &c. these words are wound up; *To root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down, to build, and to plant.* All which powers this Law-giver of yours endeavoured himself to exercise. *He endeavour'd, saith Platina, to give and take away Kingdoms, to expel men, and to restore them at his pleasure.* Plat. in vit. Innoc. III.

Agreeably to this doctrine and practice your great Canonist *Lancelottus* teaches you, *That the Pope may depose Kings and Emperors, and transfer their Kingdoms and Empires from one Line to another.* Which wholesome Doctrine, no doubt, as well as the rest of his Book, Pope *Pius IV.* has made Authentick by his unerring Approbation. Lanc. in Templa omnia. Judic. l. 3. c. 1. Sect. 4. lb. in Prof.

Lastly for your Divines, They have generally own'd it; and many of them have written large Books in defence of it. We do not tell you this as news, for you Clergy-men know it already; but that your Laity may not be ignorant of it, we shall quote them some few of the greatest Doctors of your Church in this Age. And we shall leave it upon you to shew them, when and where they were condemned, what Justice has been executed on the Persons, what *Index Expurgatorius* has censur'd the Writings of these Authors. Nay, if you deal honestly, you cannot but confess, that their Works are generally approved, and that their Persons are had in admiration among You that are the guides of the Lay-mens Consciences.

We pass over the gross things of *Marian's* Book; because, they which once licens'd it for love of the Doctrine; have since condemned it, for fear of their King's heavy Displeasure.

But pray Sir who condemned your Cardinals, *Bellarmin* Bell. de Rom. and *Baronius*? who teach you that the Pope may do with *Pont. l. 5. c. 8.* any King, as *Jehoiada* did with *Athalia*; that is, he may *deprive him first of his Kingdom, and then of his Life.* Bellarm. Sect. 10. *Bellarmin* indeed elsewhere expresses it more like a Jesuite, and a man

Beil. in Bar-
claium. c. 3.

man of distinctions; in these words; *The Pope does not allow you not to obey your King, but he makes him that was your King to be not your King*: as who should say, when the Pope has done His part, then you are free to do Yours.

Suar. in R. g.
M. B. 16. c. 4.
Sect. 20.

Again, who condemn'd your great Schoolmen, Suarez, and *Valentia*? of whom the one writes against his Majesties Grand-Father, that a King, Canonically Excommunicated, may be deposed or killed by any man whatsoever: the other says, Tom. 3. disp. in that an Heretical Prince may, by the Pope's sentence, be depriv'd of his Life, much more of his Estate, and of all Superiority over others.

Philopater.
P. 149.

Nay, who has condemned our Countreyman *Parsons* or *Cresswell*? (for the high-fliers of Popery have been those of our own Nation) by whom this is laid down as a Conclusion of the whole School of Divines and Canonists, and declar'd to be Certain, and of Faith; that any Christian Prince whatsoever, that shall manifestly swerve from the Catholick Religion, and endeavour to draw off others, does immediately fall from all Power and Dignity, &c. and that, even before any Sentence of the Pope is pronounced against him; and that all his Subjects whatsoever are free from all obligation of any Oath of Obedience which they have made to him as their lawful Prince; and that they may and ought (if they be strong enough) to eject such a one from the Government of Christians, as an Apostate, an Heretic, a deserter of Christ, and an enemy of his Commonwealth, &c.

Cardinal Perron went not altogether so high; but yet he held to the Roman Catholick Principle, that Kings may be deposed by the Pope when he sees cause. He seem'd to be of another opinion while *Henry IV.* was alive: but when He was dead; and a Childe was in the Throne; then he ventur'd to declare this publicly in his Oration* on behalf of the whole Clergy of France. † He maintained that this was the current Doctrine in France till the time of Calvin: and for the contrary Doctrine, viz. That Kings are not deposable by the Pope, *Rossius** calls it the Paradox of the Lutherans; *Perron* calls it a Doctrine that breeds Schisms: a gate that leads into all Heresie; and to be held in so high a degree of detestation, that

* Jan. 15. 1615
† Note that the Pope sent him thanks for it; and King James writ in answer to it, that solid Defence of the Right of Kings.
* Ross. p. 89.

that rather then yield to it, he and his fellow Bishops would chuse to burn at a Stake.

But how has this Doctrine taken among the Papists in our Kings Dominions? it has not taken with some of them: either because you have not thought it seasonable for you to instruct them in it; for Doctrines of this sort are then only proper to be Inculcated, when they may do Execution; or else because your Instruction has been over-rul'd by some better Principle; as we doubt not there have alwayes been some of your Church, in whose generous breasts the Englishman has been too strong for the Papist. But yet this Doctrine has taken with others: and many of them have practis'd according to it, as we shall shew you hereafter; and many more would have been practising, if there had not been something to hinder them or deter them. For 'tis allowed by your Divines, as a very good Reason, for Catholicks to omit the Duty of Rebellion, *if they are not strong enough to go through with it.* So *Banier* excuses our English Catholicks, and so *Belharmin** does the Primitive Christians. Nay your Casuists say, if there be any notable danger of Death or Ruine, without which you cannot perform it, that then you are not bound to endeavour it. Long may these Good Reasons continue; for if these were remov'd, we know not how far we might trust you. For one of your Brethren, another poisoner of the people, has been so forward already since his Majesties Restauration, as to declare in Print, that in case your Pope should take upon him to Deprive our King, he would not meddle between them. *I leave that Question*, saith he, *to be decided by the two Supreme Powers, the Pope, and the King, when occasion shall be for it.*

* *Bel. de Rom. Pass. l. 5. c. 7. was sum Quodlibets, p. 255. and 295 &c. out of Banier, Valencia, and Parsons.*

The Exhortation in the afternoon, p. 22.

[My Lords and Gentlemen, had this been a new Sall not known before, something perchance might have been doubted; but to lay this at their doors that have govern'd the civilised world, is the miracle of miracles to us.]

Sir, we know not how to cure your wonder, but by shewing you 'tis unreasonable. For you call it a *Miracle*, that men judge according to good Evidence. Who doubts less

*His Speech in
Parliament,
p. 504. of his
Works.*

of the dangerousness of your Principles and Practices, than they that have Read most, and had most Experience of them? We can give you no greater instance, than in King James of blessed Memory, who was no stranger to you either way, and this is his Judgment of you: *That as on the one part, many honest men seduced with some Errors of Popery, may yet remain good and faithful Subjects: So on the other part, none of those that truly know and believe the whole grounds and School conclusions of their Doctrines, can ever either prove good Christians or good Subjects.*

But pray Sir, when was it that you govern'd the civiliz'd World? For the Eastern and Southern Churches never own'd your Government, nor yet the Western, while Learning flourish'd: But when Barbarity had over-run it, then Popery grew up by degrees, and made it more barbarous both in Ignorance and in Cruelty. Then came in those Doctrines of Transubstantiation, &c. Then came in those Papal Usurpations, &c. which the World, being again Civiliz'd, hath partly thrown off, and partly reduced into more tollerable rearm.

Did Richard the First, or Edward Longshanks suspect his Catholicists that served in Palestine, and made our Countreys Fame big in the Chronicle of all Ages? or did they mistrust (in their dangerous absence) their Subjects at home, because they were of the same profession? could Edward the Third imagine those to be traitorous in their Doctrine, that had that care and duty for their Prince, as to make them (by Statute) guilty of Death in the highest Degree, that had the least thought of ill against the King? be pleased that Henry the Fifth, he remembered also, who did those wonders, of which the whole world does yet resound; and certainly all History will agree in this, that 'twas Oldcastle he feared, and not those that believed the Bishop of Rome to be Head of the Church.

*Daniel's Hist.
Ric. I. in fin.*

The Reigns of those Kings whom you speak of, were in those dark times; when all Goodness declin'd, and Corruptions were daily growing upon us. Richard the First, being told he had three wicked Daughters, Pride, Covetousness, and Leachery, said he could not Match them better than among your Templers, Fathers, and Friars. Edward the First out-law'd the whole Clergy of this Realm, for refusing

sing to pay the King any Taxes, because the Pope had forbidden them to do it. And both those other Princes whom you mention, made Laws against his Usurpations. *Edward the Third* made a notable one of this kinde, by advice of that very Parliament, in which he enacted his *Laws against Treason*. And certainly, *Henry the Second* was more vex'd with *Becket*, than ever *Henry V.* feared *Oldcastle*. We doubt not, those Kings had many good Subjects, and our King hath some better than you seem to be. But they differed not in Religion, as you do from ours: And yet then, your Faction was alwayes encroaching where it was suffered, and dangerous where it was opposed.

Did not your Pope force King *John* to do him homage for *England*? Did he not wrestle with *Edward I.* for the Sovereignty of *Scotland*? hath he not often laid claim to the Kingdom of *Ireland*? If the old Gentleman in a pet should go to turn out his Tenant, what would our King have left when these are disposed of?

F. [We will no longer trouble you with putting you in minde of any more of our mighty Kings who have been feared abroad, and as safe at home as any since the Reformation of Religion. We shall only add this, that if Popery be the enslaving of Princes, France still believes it self as absolute as Denmark or Sweden.]

The French King will believe what he pleases, but not all that you say of him. For he cannot but know, that the Pope gave away that Kingdom from some of his Predecessors; and maintained War in it against his Grandfather, till he brought him to his terms. And why hath not his Holiness dealt so with him that now is? partly for the sake of his Religion; but chiefly for fear of a Storm, lest his Coin should do that which *Lewis the Twelfth's* only threatned in the Inscription of it, *PERDAM BABILONIS NOMEN*.

[Nor will ever the House of Austria abjure the Pope, so secure themselves of the fidelity of their Subjells.]

For the *Austrian* Princes that are so link'd to the Pope,

The Spaniard holds the Kingdoms of Navarre, and of Naples, and Sicily, only by the Pope's gift; by which he should have Ireland too, and England, but that the right Heir keeps them from him.

and whose Subjects are all Papists; you suggest a mad way to secure themselves by firing their Country about their ears.

But what is this to England? where since the exclusion of that trash, which you call the *Catholic Faith*, the King and the greatest part of his People are no Papists, and have had so much trouble and danger for it from them that are. May not Reason and Experience teach us to fear, that having to do with the same kinde of Adversaries, we may still have some troublesome and dangerous Enemies? No, we have none to fear but our selves, if we may believe you. For say you,

[We shall alwayes acknowledge to the whole world, that there have been as many brave English in this last Century, as in any other place whatsoever: yet since the exclusion of the *Catholic Faith*, there hath been that committed by those who would be false called Protestants, that the wickedest Papist at no time dreamt of.]

Pray Sir what may that be? For you have murdered Kings, and them of your own Religion, four or five in this Realm since the Conquest. (not to speak of those Numbers elsewhere) But that was in the growing Age of Popery. In latter times, have you so soon forgot our Kings Grand-Father Henry IV. murdered by *Ravilliac* or his Predecessor Henry III. murdered by Friar *Clement*? and the People you have kill'd up by whole Families and Townships. Witness *England, Ireland, France, Piedmont*, which you will hear of elsewhere. These things have been done by Papists broad-awake, and what must that be which the wickedest of them never dreamt of?

[Twas never heard of before that an absolute Queen was condemned by Subjects, and those styled her Peers; or that a King was publicly Tried and Executed by his own People and Servants.]

First you tell us of the Queen of Scots put to Death in Queen Elizabeths Reign. It was by the same colour of right, we suppose, that *Wallis* suffered in Edward the First's Reign, namely of that Sovereignty that our Princes challenged

lenged over *Scotland*. But *Edward I.* was erewhile a land-able Papist; and *Queen Elizabeth* for all this might be a very good Protestant. Sure we are, that King *James* and King *Charles*, who were nearest concerned in this matter, never imputed the Fault of it to her Religion.

Your other instance is, of that most execrable Murther, committed on the best of Kings, by his own Subjects, and by such as you say, *would fain be called Protestants*. Sir, we *would fain be called* Christians, and Members of the Catholick Church: would you take it well of a Turk, that should Therefore charge our faults upon you? but you do worse then a Turk, in charging these mens faults upon us. They were neither then nor since of our Communion, but that blessed Prince was, whom they murder'd. He declared upon the Scaffold, *I dye a Christian, according to the profession of the Church of England, as I found it left me by my Father*. He charged the Princess *Elizabeth*, not to grieve, and torment her self, for him; for that would be a glorious Death which he should dye, it being for the *Laws and Liberties of this Land*, and for maintaining the true Protestant Religion. He died with some Care not to leave you this advantage by his Death; as it appears by these words of his last Letter to his Majesty that now is. *The scandal of the late Troubles which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant Religion established in England, is easily answered to them or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner or an active prosecutor of this late War against the Church, the Laws, and Me, either was or is a true lover, embracer, or practitioner of the Protestant Religion established in England; which neither gives such Rules, nor ever before set such Examples.*

Letter to the
Prince.

[My Lords and Gentlemen, we know who were the Authors of this last abomination, and how generously you strove against the raging Torment; nor have we any other ends to remember you of it, but to shew that all Religions may have corrupted Spawns; and that God hath been pleased to permit such a Rebellion, which our Progenitors never saw, to convince you perchance (whom for ever may be pro, per) that Popery is not the only source of Treason.]

But do you indeed know who were the Authors of this last
ab-

abomination? Pray Sir be plain with us, for in these doubtful words, there seems to be more truth than every man is aware of. The Rebellion that led to it began we know in Scotland, where the design of it was first laid by † Cardinal Richelieu his Majesties * irremediable Enemy. Then it broke out in Ireland, where it was blest with his Holiness's Letters, and assisted by his Nuntio, whom he sent purposely to attend the Fire there. Lastly here in England, you did your parts to unsettle the People, and gave them needless occasions of jealousy, which the vigilant Phanaticks made use of, to bring us all into War and Confusion.

Both in England and Scotland, the special Tools that they wrought with, were borrowed out of your Shops.

It was his Majesties own Observation (by which you may guess whose spawn they were.) *Their Maxims*, saith he, *were the same with the Jesuites; their Preachers Sermons were delivered in the very phrase of Becanus, Scioppius, and Eudæmon Johannes; their poor Arguments, which they delivered in their seditious Pamphlets printed or written, were taken almost verbatim out of Bellarmin and Suarez.*

In Ireland, where you durst do it, you employ'd Iron and Steel against him; with which you might as well have preserved him, if you had pleased; but you *denied* to do that, (as he tells us) *only upon account of Religion*. * Then followed the accursed Fact it self, agreed to in the Councils of your Clergy, † contriv'd and executed by the Phanaticks. In vain did the poor Royallist strive against it, for what could he do? when two streams met against him, of which the deepest was that which came from Rome, where the false Fisherman open'd all his Flood-gates, to overwhelm us with those troubles, which, for the advantage of his trade, he had often before endeavoured, but could never prevail till now to send them pouring in upon us.

[Little did we think, (when your Prayers and ours were offered up to beg a blessing on the Kings Affairs) ever to see that day, in which Carlos, Gifford, Whitgrave, and the Pendrells, should be punished by your desires for that Religion which obliged them to save their forlorn Prince; and a stigmatized man (for his Offences against King and Church) a chief promoter of it.

N^y,

† 17. L. Effrange.
1639. in Har-
berghelds Re-
lation.

* Answer to
the Reasons for
no Address.

Large Declara-
tion concern-
ing the tumults
in Scotland, p. 3.

* Answers to the
Reasons for the
Votes of no
Address.

† Answer to
P^lobias ix. p. 59.

Not left, did we imagine, that by your Votes Huddleston might be hang'd, who again secured our Sovereigns, and others free in their last Possessions that sat as Judges, and sealed the Execution of that great Prince of happy Memory.]

That many Gentlemen of your Church were not of your Party, we do willingly acknowledge; and that some of them in that critical day of Danger, did the King very eminent Service. But so did Protestants too; therefore you cannot ascribe this to your Religion. Nor does it seem reasonable, that to requite particular persons for their service, we should abandon those Laws which may secure the publick against as great a danger.

To question his Life that had freely expos'd it for our Sovereign's, were too great a barbarity for any Christians but of your Sect, or any Age but Queen *Maries* dayes; for then Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* was indeed so dealt with; but we do not more detest those times than such examples. And we know that his Majesty, without any trespass on his Laws, may protect and reward those persons whom he judgeth deserving it; as well as his Royal Predecessors did, in whose Reigns the penal Laws were made.

*Daleman's Con-
ference of Suc-
cession, part 2.
P. 237.*

Pray be you as favourable to the *stigmatized Man*, (whom sure you are not angry with for his Offences against King and Church, whatsoever you say;) and if he be now a promoter of any thing that displeaseth you, bear with him, as his Majesty doth; for whom he lately did his utmost against Phanaticks toward the bringing of him in: and he would not willingly live to see the Pope turn him out again.

For the Regicides be as severe with them as you please; only beware how you tax his Majesty's Mercy, for fear you may have need of it.

[We confesse we are unfortunate, and you just Judges, whom with our lives we will ever maintain to be so; nor are we ignorant the necessity of Affairs made both the King and you distink, which formerly you could not so much as fancy. Yet give us leave to say we are still Loyal; nay, to desire you to believe so, and to remember how Synonymous (under the late Rebellion) was the word Papist and Cavalier; for there was never no Papist that was not deemed a Cavalier, nor no Cavalier that was not called a Papist, or at least judg'd to be popishly affected.]

Your

Your sawning upon the Parliament, and commending of your selves, we pass over as things of course. And we equally believe you now, as You did the Phanaricks heretofore, when they called us *Papists*; or as We did you e'rewhile, when you called them *Protestants*. For pray Sir, what did they to be called *Protestants*? or what did we to be *judged Papists Affected*? And if all *Papists*, as you say, were *deemed Cavaliers*; we hope some of them have had the grace to be ashamed of it. In *Ireland* there were whole Armies of Irish and English, that fought against his Majesty, solely upon the account of your Religion. In *England* it is true, some came in voluntarily to assist him; but many more of you were * *hunted into his Garrisons*, by them that knew you would bring him little help and much hatred. And of those that fought for him, as long as his Fortune stood; when that once declined, a great part, even of them, fell from him. From that time forward, you that were, *always, all, deemed Cavaliers*, where were you? In all those weak Efforts * of gasping Loyalty, what did you? You complied, and flattered, and gave sugar'd words, to the Rebels then, as you do to the Royallists now. You address your Petitions † *to the Supreme Authority of this Nation, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*. You affirmed * *that you had generally taken, and punctually kept the Engagement*. You promised that if you might but enjoy your Religion † you *would be the most quiet and useful Subjects of England*. You prov'd it in these words. * *The Papists of England would be bound by their own Interest (the strongest obligation amongst wise men) to live peaceably and thankfully in the private exercise of their Consciences; and becoming gainers by such compassions, they could not so reasonably be distrusted, as the Prelatick Party that were losers*. You prov'd it more amply by real Testimonies; which we have no pleasure in remembering, and you would have less in hearing of them. These things were too lately done to be talk't of.

If after all this said and done for your own Vindication, you were still *deemed Cavaliers*, the more was your wrong. But who could help it? all the right we can do you, is, not to believe it. We

* Second Moderator, p. 43.

* 1647, 1648, 1649-5

† First Moderator, p. 19.

* Second Moderator, p. 41.

P. Answer to Philanax, p. 63.

† First Moderator, p. 11.

* First Moderator, p. 36.

[We know though we differ something in Religion (the truth of which let the last day judge) yet none can agree with your inclinations, or are siter for you: Converse than we; for as we have as much Birth among us as England can best of, so our Breeding turns your way both in Court and Camp: and therefore had not our late sufferings waited us in that firm eye, yet our like humors must needs have joyed our hearts.]

If we are, pity our condition, and remember what your great Ancestors were, and make some difference between us (that have twice converted England from Paganism) and those other Souls that can challenge nothing, but intrusion from their imposed Authority.]

As for Religion we agree with you in all that is truly Catholick: We differ from you only in not admitting your Innovations. And whether justly, we say also, let the last day Judge. Your Converse, Breeding, &c. we heartily respect as far as 'tis English. But we suspect every thing that leans toward a Forreign Jurisdiction. And we would be loth, by our kindeness to those things wherein we agree with you, to be drawn into the danger of those things in which we differ from you.

By that flim of your having twice converted England from Paganism, sure you mean that we in this Land have been twice converted by persons sent to us from Rome. Which you will never perswade any one to believe, that dares trust himself to taste of Church History without one of your Fathers chewing it for him. But supposing this to be true, pray what would you infer from it? that because we received good from the Primitive Christians of that place, therefore we should lay our selves open to receive any evil that may happen to us from their degenerate Successors.

[But 'tis generally said, that Papists cannot live without persecuting all other Religions within their reach.]

We confess where the name of Protestant is unknown, the Catholick Magistrate (believing it erroneous) do use all care to keep it out: Yet in those Countries where liberty is given, they have far more priviledges than we, under any reformed Government whatsoever. To be short, we will only instance France for all, where they have publick Churches, where they can make what Proscribes they please, and where it's not against Law to be in any charge or employment. Now Holland (which permits every thing) gives us 'tis true, our Lives and Estates, but takes away all trust in Rule, and leaves us also in danger of the scow whenever he pleaseth to disturb our Meetings.]

C

What

What is generally said of the Popish Persecutions, is also generally believed. But Sir, you answer it deceitfully. For you tell us of the manner; first, of those Countries where the name of *Protestant* is unknown: and next, of those Countries where liberty is given: but you slip over a third sort, namely, of those where the name of *Protestant* is well known, and yet no liberty is given. Pray what liberty have the Protestants in *Flanders*? we are told they have none: and yet the name of them is very well known there. The like may be said of divers other Countries. Nay in *England*, while it was Yours, did you give any liberty at all? yet the name of *Protestant* is very well known here, and was sufficient for the burning of any one that was known by it. But you say you will only instance *France* for all. Very wisely resolved, for it would not have been for your credit to instance any other. In *France* then, whatsoever liberty the Protestants enjoy, it is by virtue of their Edicts: which how they were obtained, we shall have occasion to mind * you; and how they are observed, let the poor *Hugonots* tell you. But if they were observed to the full; should we therefore grant you that liberty which is against *Law*? because they are allowed that which you say is not against *Law*.

In *Holland*, the Papists may have some reason to complain, if their Masters allow them no more liberty than you speak of. For it was chiefly by their hands, that the Spanish yolk was thrown off: which on the contrary, our Papists were so fond of, that for divers years together, we had much ado to keep them from pulling it on upon our necks.

[Because we have named *France*, the *Massacre* will perchance be urged against us: but the world must know that was a Cabinet Plot, condemned as wicked by Catholic Writers there, and of other Countries also: besides, it cannot be thought they were murdered for being Protestants, since 'twas their powerful Rebellion (let their Faith have been what it would) that drew them into this ill machinated destruction.]

The French *Massacre*, which you next speak of, was a thing of so horrid a Cruelty, that, as *Thynanus* * tells us, con-

* K. James Defence of the Right of Kings
P. 479, 480.

* *Thynanus* lib. 1. 13.

considering men, having turn'd over the *Annals of the Nations*, **Tha. Hist. 1.*
 could finde no example of the like in all Antiquity. It was cloak-
 ed over with shews of the greatest Amity in the world;
 namely of a Marriage between the Houses of *Valois* and
Bourbon; to which all the chiefs of the Protestants were most
 lovingly invited. There after the Jollity of Mirth, and
 carelles of Entertainment, in the dead time of the night,
 the whole City was in Arms about them; they fell upon
 all the Protestants Houses and Lodgings; they butchered
 them without distinction, Men, Women, and Children, till
 the Channels ran down with Blood into the River: And
 scarce a Protestant was left alive, except the **Bridegroom* and
 the Prince of *Conde*; who turned Papists to escape their
 hands, and yet they could not escape them, the one being
 poisoned, and the other stabb'd by men of your Religion. ^{* *Guillard, in his Oration said, it was a great error that they had not cut*}
 This hellish Stratagem, you say, was condemned as wicked by the *Asplick* ⁱⁿ
Catholick Writers. It was likewise extoll'd as glorious by
Catholick Writers. But pray Sir, what think you of it?
 you are bashful in company, but one may guess at your
 meaning. First you say it was a *Calinet Plot*, a fine soft
 word, for the butchering * of 30000. persons. Next, in ^{* *Id. l. 13.*}
 answer to them that call it *murder*, you seem to blame it as
 a thing done to Halves; for what else can you mean, by cal-
 ling it an *ill-machinated destruction*? Lastly, whatsoever it
 was, that which drew it upon them, you say, was *their Re-*
bellion (*let their Faith have been what it would.*) Nay Sir, it
 was their Faith (let their Obedience have been what it
 would) For neither had that King better Subjects than those
 which were massacred; nor had his Successor errant Rebel-
 bers than those that did Massacre them. Brave *Coligni* was
 the first murdered; and his Head was sent to *Rome*, while
 his Body (according to his own ominous * with) was man-
 gled and dragged about the Streets of *Paris*. The Duke of
Guise was chief of the murderers; whose *factious Autho-*
rity, as you sweetly style it, was as black a Rebellion as ever
 that Kingdom saw. But to end this Question, whether
 these men were massacred for *Protestant Religion*, or for *Re-*
bellion; let us take judges between us: for possibly, We ^{* *Tha. Hist. l. 1.*}
 may ^{11. said that}
 being fore-
 warn'd of the
 Plot, and advi-
 sed to stand up-
 on his Guard;
 He might rather
 to have his Body
 drag'd, &c. than
 to see any more
 Civil Wars in
 France.

may be partial for the one, and You for the other.

First, of *Rebellion*, a King should be the most competent Judge: hear therefore what King *James* saith, who lived in the fresh memory of those dayes. *I could never yet see any good and true Intelligence that in France, those of the Religion took Arms against their King. In the first Civil Wars they stood only upon their Guard, they stood only to their lawful Words, and Locks of Defence. They armed not, nor took the Field, before they were pursued with Fire and Sword, burnt up and slaughtered. Besides, Religion was neither the root nor the riide of those intestine Troubles. The true ground of the Quarrel was this; during the Minority of King Francis II. the Protestants of France were a refuge and succor to the Princes of the Blood, when they were kept from the King's Presence, and by the Power of their Enemies were no better than plainly driven and chased from the Court. I mean the Grand-Fathers of the King now Reigning, and of the Prince of Conde, when they had no place of safe Retreat. In regard of which worthy and honorable Service, it may seem the French King hath reason to have the Protestants in his gracious remembrance. With other Commotion or Insurrection the Protestants are not justly to be charged. Certain it is, that King Henry III, &c. by their good Service was delivered from a most extreame and imminent peril of his Life, &c. they never abandoned that Henry III. nor Henry IV. in all the heat of Revolts and Rebels raised by the Pope, and the more part of the Clergy, &c.*

Tit. Hist. l. 53.

Then of *Religion*, since you will allow none but the Pope to be Judge, let us hear his Judgment from *Thuanus*, who was a Roman Catholick, and a most authentick Historian. He tell us the Pope had an account of the Massacre from his Legate at *Paris*, that he read his Letter in the Consistory of Cardinals, that there it was decreed that they should go directly to *St. Mark*, and there solemnly give thanks to Almighty God for so great a blessing conferred upon the Roman See, and the Christian World. That soon after a Jubilee should be publisht through the whole Christian World, and these causes were expreit for it, To give thanks to God for destroying in France the Enemies of the Truth, and of the Church,

Church, &c. In the Evening the Guns were fired at *St. Angelo*, and Bonfires were made, and nothing was omitted of all those things that use to be performed in the *greatest Victories of the Church*. Some dayes after there was a Procession to *St. Lewis*, with the greatest resort of Nobility and People. First went the Bishops and Cardinals, then the Switzers, then the Ambassadors of Kings and Princes: then under a Canopy, went his Holiness himself, with the Emperors Ambassador bearing up his Train for him, &c. Over the Church Door was an Inscription set up, in which the Cardinal of *Lorain*, in the name of the King of *France*, congratulated his Holiness, and the Colledge of Cardinals, &c. for the plainly *suspicious effects*, and altogether incredible events, of their Councils given him, and of their Assistance sent him, and of their twelve Years Wishes and Prayers. Soon after, the Pope sent Cardinal *Ursin* in his name, to congratulate the King of *France*, who in his Journey through the Cities, highly commended the Faith of those Citizens that had to do in the Massacre; and distributed his Holinesses blessings amongst them. And at *Paris*, being to perswade the reception of the Council of *Trent*, he endeavoured it with this Argument, That the memory of the late *Allien* to be magnified in all ages, as conducing to the Glory of God, and the Dignity of the Holy Roman Church, might be as it were sealed by the Approbation of the Holy Synod: for that so it would be manifest to all men that now are, or hereafter shall be, that the King consented to the destruction of so many lives, not out of hatred or revenge, or sense of any injury of his own, but out of an ardent desire to propagate the Glory of God. That, what could not be expected whilst the Faction of Protestants stood, now since they were taken away, the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion which by the Synod of *Trent* is cleared from the venom of the Sectaries, might be established without Controversie, and without Exception through all the Provinces of the French Dominion.

Well spoken; worthy Head of thy Church, we will take thy Judgement about cutting of throats at any time;

time; thou dost not mince the matter, as this English limb of thee doth: who yet is thus far to be commended; that since he durst not say of it as he desir'd, for fear of provoking us, yet he would not call it as it deserved, for fear of too much contradicting thee.

[May it not be as well said in the next Catholic Kings Reign, that the Duke of Guise and Cardinal, Heads of the League, were killed for their Religion also? Now no body is ignorant, but 'twas their Follies Authority which made that jealous Prince design their Deaths, though by unwarrantable means.]

The Duke of *Guise* and his Brother were not killed for their Religion; for they were killed by * one of the same Religion, and one that was bent against the Protestants as much as they. Only because he spared the blood of the Protestants your Zealots hated him; and so much the more, because a Protestant * being his Heir, he would not declare him incapable of the Succession. For these causes, by the Popes consent, these *Guises* (whom he called the *Maccabees* † of the Church) entred into an *Holy League* against their King; and called in the Succors of *Spain* and *Savoy*, which they paid for with the Rights of the Crown; they maintained a sharp War against him, and did all that was in their power to deprive him of his Kingdom and Life. Whereupon that *jealous Prince* (as you favourably * call him) for his own preservation, was urged to deal with them, as they had dealt with the Protestants; from whose case, this of the *Guises* is so vastly different, that one would wonder why you should mention it.

* *Rossau*, one of your Predecessors, calls him a thousand times worse than *Mahomet*, p. 170. and saith, from the beginning of the world, no Nation or State ever endured such a Tyrant, p. 171.
* *Sixtus V.* quoted his own Prediction in his Oration that follows.

But since you have led us thus far out of the way, let us invite you a little farther. The Pope Excommunicated the King for this Action, and granted 9. Years of true Indulgence to any of his Subjects that would bear Arms against him; and foretold, * (as a Pope might do without Astrology) that *e're long he should come to a fearful Death*. The Subjects took Arms, and earned the Indulgence. A Friar took his Knife, and fulfilled the Prediction; by ripping up those Bowels that were alwayes most tenderly affected with kindness to the Monkish Orders. But what joy was there

at Rome for this ! as if the news of another Massacre had come to Town ; one would think so, by the Popes Oration* * Printed at Paris, 1589 by the Printers of the Holy League, and approved by the Sardas. to his Cardinals : in which he sets forth this *work of God* (the Kings Murther) for its wonderfulness to be compared with *Christs Incarnation and Resurrection*. And the Friars Vertue, and Courage, and fervent Love of God, he prefers before that of *Eleazar* in the *Maccabees*, or of *Judith* killing *Holofernes* : and the murdered King (who had profest himself to dye in the *Faith of the Roman Catholick Apostolick Church*) he declared to have died in the *Sin against the Holy Ghost*. Pray Sir, may it not well be said, that *Papists cannot live without persecuting Protestants* ? when we see a Popish King stabb'd and damned for not persecuting them enough, or for doing the work of the Lord negligently.

[If it were for Doctrine that Hugonots suffered in France, this haughty Monarch would soon destroy them now, having neither Force nor Town to resist his Might and Paissance. They yet live free enough, being even Members of Parliament, and may convert the Kings Brother too, if he think fit to be so. Thus you see how well Protestants may live in a Popish Country, under a Popish King : nor was Charlemain more Catholick than this ; for though he contends something with the Pope, 'tis not of Faith, but about Gallian Priviledges, which perchance he may very Lawfully do.]

[Judge then worthy Patriots, who are the best used, and consider our hardship here in England, where it is not only a Fine for hearing Mass, but death to the Master for having a Priest in his House, and so far we are from preferment, That by Law we cannot come within 10. miles of London ; all which we know your great mercy will never permit you to exalt.]

You say if this were true, then this haughty Monarch would soon destroy his Hugonots now. No such consequence, Sir, for he may persecute them, and not destroy them ; he may destroy them, but not so soon. Princes* use to go their * K. James works, p. 483. own pace, whilst they are upon their legs ; but if any misfortune throws them upon all four, then the Pope gets up and rides them what pace he pleaseth. Nor is this Monarch yet so Catholick as Charlemain was, if he were, he would do as Charlemain did. He would be Patron of all the Bishopricks in his Empire, even of Rome it self, if it were there. He would make the Pope himself know the distance

Canon Agabus
Dist. 63.

Faucher Ann
Vol. c. 10. that
the Pope
ador'd him, not
be the Pope.

* Council of
Frankford, A.
794.

distance between a Prelate and an Emperor. He would maintain the Rights of his Crown; and not chop Logick about *Gallicane Priviledges*, which you say like a sly Jesuite, that *perchance he may lawfully do*. He would call a Council when he pleased, to separate Errors from the *Faith*; as *Charlemain* himself called a Council * against Image Worship, which was then creeping into the Church. This were a good way of *destroying the Hugonots*, by taking away all causes of strife amongst Christians. By any other way than this he cannot destroy them, without the violation of his Laws: which, as they are the only *Forces and Towns*, where-by Subjects ought to be secured against their King; so, since he is pleased to allow them no other, these *Laws*, backt with his puissance, are forces enough to secure them against their fellow Subjects.

We cannot pass this Paragraph, without observing your Jesuitical ingenuity; how you slight those favours that you have; how you complain of those *hardships* that you have not; and how you insult over the poor *Hugonots*, by comparing with them, who generally would mend their condition by changing with you. Pray Sir, do not Popish Peers sit in our English *Parliaments*, as well as Protestants in the French? or have you not as free access to our *Kings Brother*, as they have to theirs? or would you have his Highness to Catechise, as the Abbot had the Duke of *Glocester*? perhaps that you would have. Otherwise we know nothing but his Highnesses Wisdom, and care of his Conscience, that guards him from you.

Of the *Laws* you complain hideously, *Worthy Patriots consider our hardship*. And yet, those very *Laws* you complain of, you never knew executed in your life; and you tell us soon after, that you *know* they never will be. For what cause then were they enacted? Plainly for this cause, to guard the lives of our Princes against your traiterous practices.

[It hath often been urged, that our Misdeemeanors in *Queen Elizabeth's* days, and *King James his* time, was the cause of our *Parliament*.]

Your

Your *Misdemeanors*! we cry you mercy, if they were no more; but that comes next to be argued, whether they were *Misdemeanors* or Treasons?

[We earnestly wish that the Party had more patience under their Princeess. But pray consider (though we excuse not their faults) whether it was not a question harder than that of York and Lancaster, the cause of a War of such length, and death of so many Princes, who had most right, *Q* Elizabeth or Mary Stuart: for since the whole Kingdom had crowned and sworn Allegiance to *Q* Mary, they had owned her Legitimate Daughter to Henry the Eighth; and therefore it was thought necessary to follow by many, That if Mary was the true Child, Elizabeth was the Natural, which must then needs give way to the thrice Noble Queen of Scots.]

Under Queen Elizabeth, you wish your Party had more patience; and we think they Needed none; for in the first 10. Years of her Reign they had no Business for it. In all that space of time, which was twice as long as Queen *Maries* Reign, though it was fresh in memory what the Papists had done, yet not one of them suffered Death: till the Northern Rebellion: which being raised against her, only upon the account of her Religion; it appears that She was the persecuted person: She had the occasion for Patience; and you would have wished Them more Loyalty, if any such thing had been in your thoughts. But perhaps you wish they had so much patience, as not to have discovered their design before it was fully ripe for execution. Not unlike. For it appears, you account Rebellion no fault; by this, that you say, you excuse not their faults, and yet you do excuse their Rebellion.

You excuse them, by saying, it was a very hard Question, whether the Rights of the Crown lay in her, *Ross* p. 123. or in the Queen of Scots; for that many thought Queen Elizabeth illegitimate. Pray Sir, who thought it so? that were pretended to dye or when arose that Question? The Arch-Bishop of York, for your Religion, where though a Papist, in his Speech at the publishing of Queen *Maries* Death, said, No man could doubt of the justness of the was it ever Lady Elizabeths Title to the Succession. The whole Kingdom received her, and owned her as Queen, more generally and freely than ever they did Queen Mary. The lawful Queen?

* Philip II. and Neighbor Kings of Spain and France, and the Emperor Henry II. for themselves, and the Emperor Maximilian for his Brother Charles, offered * Marriage to her, in hopes to have got the Crown by her. The Queen of Scots her self did acknowledge her, and claimed nothing more than to be Heir to her, and so did King James that was her Successor. So that whosoever opposed Queen Elizabeths Right; if they were English, 'tis apparent they were Rebels; and if they were Papists, we may guess what led them to it. For the first that

* Council of
Treat. l. 5. Aa.
1558.

Questioned her Title, was Pope * Paul IV. who would not acknowledge her for sundry causes; the chief that he alledged were these. First, Because *this Kingdom is a Fee of the Papacy*, and it was audaciously done of her to assume it without his leave. The second was, because *she was Illegitimate*; for if her Fathers Marriage were good, the Pope must let down his Mill. But after all this, his Successor Pius IV * did own her, and would have done any thing for her, so she would have owned him. Which because she would not, the next Pope Pius V. issued out his Bull * against her, and deposed her; not for Bastardy † but for Heresie; that is, for being a Protestant: for which Heresie it was, that the Northern men Rebelled against her, and many more of her Subjects disowned her; and some or other were every foot plotting how to take away her life.

* In his Letter
by Parpogia,
dated 1560.
May 9.

* Dated 1570.
Feb. 25.

† See the Bull
it self, there is
not the least
mention of Bas-
tardy in it.

True it is, that some of these pretended to do it in favour of the *Queen of Scots*. But how if that Queen had not been a Catholick? or *Queen Elizabeth* had not been thought *Illegitimate*? would a legitimate Protestant have been so contended for? or would a Popish Bastard have been rejected by them?

* James Basse
companion.

† Don John.

* Whom his
Holiness had
created Mar-
quis of Lem-
ster, Earl of
Wexford, &c.
Thu. Hist. l. 64.

Pope Gregory XIII. had occasion to consider this. For his Holiness had a Bastard * of his own to provide for, and another † of the Emperors; no doubt good Catholicks both of them. To one he gave the Kingdom of Ireland, and set out *Stakeley* * with Forces to win it from him. To the other he gave the Kingdom of *England*, and gave him leave to win it for himself. But what was all this to the *thrice Noble Queen of Scots*? Possibly she might have been preferred to have married one of the two; but then it must have

have been expressely with this condition, that her Son King James (who was a Heretick) should have nothing to do with the Succession.

When their bubbles were broken, and she was dead, all her Right descended to King James; who being as little do the Popes minde, as Q. Elizabeth was, Sixtus V. only took no publick notice of Him, but he proceeded with all his might against Her. He curst her afresh, and publisht a Croisade against her, and gave the whole Right of Her Kingdoms to Philip II. King of Spain. But neither that Popes Bounty, nor his three Successors Blessings, nor the Spanish Arms, nor the Italian Arts (for no way was left untried) could ever prevail against Gods Providence; which, till the end of her dayes, kept that Queen alwayes fast in her Possessions.

At last, Pope Clement VIII. seeing there was nothing to be done against her, resolv'd to let her go like a Heretick as she was; and to take the more care that another Heretick should not succeed her. For which cause he sent over two Breves into England, one to the Clergy, and the other to the Laity, commanding them not to admit any other but a Catholick, though never so near in Blood, to the Succession: that is to say, in plain words, not to admit King James to Reign after Queen Elizabeths death. So 'tis clear, that your Popes never stuck at that hard Question that you speak of.

Set us see what our Countrey-men did; who as you say, suffered for it in those dayes. They did like obsequious Members, at every turn, as their Head directed them. They acted for the Papal Interest as far as they were able. They made the House of Scotland the Cloke for it, as far as it would reach. And it reacht pretty well, as long as the Title was in Queen Mary. But after the Title came to be in King James, Pray Sir, name us those Papists, or but one single person of them, that either did or suffered for Him; and then you bless us with a discovery.

What then? were they idle for so many years as past between the commencing of his Title, and the Death of

D 2

Queen

Queen Elizabeth? Nothing less. For they were as busy as Bees, in contriving how to hasten her Death, and how to put him by the Succession. And if it were for his Service, that they would have destroyed Her; pray for whose service was it, that they would have defeated Him? but that will be known by the story.

Soon after his Mothers Death was the Spanish Invasion; which would have defeated him with a Witness, if it had sped; and yet our Papists, both Negotiated * it, and writ in Defence † of it. Afterwards in Scotland your Jesuites procured the Earl of Huntley * and others to raise a powerful Rebellion against him. In England they endeavoured to perswade the Earl of Derby † to set up a Title to the Crown; who honestly revealing it, was poisoned soon after, according to the prophetic threatening of Herkes whom they had made use of to perswade him.

When these single shots failed, Father Parsons * gave a broad-side to the Royal House of Scotland. For he published a Book under the name of Dalemán, wherein he set up divers Competitours for the Succession, and consequently so many Enemies to the unquestionable Right of that Family. And to provide one sure Enemy upon the place, he found out a Title for the Earl of Essex, the most ambitious and popular man in the Nation, to whom also he craftily dedicated his Book. In which he mentions, among other Books of this nature, one written by Lesley concerning the Queen of Scots Title; another by Hegginton for the King of Spains Title; and another concerning the Prince of Parmas; But for his part, before these and all others, he prefers the Title of the Infanta. And, to shew that he meant as he said, * he caused their Scholars in the Seminaries abroad to subscribe to it, and made them swear to maintain it, and bound the Missionaries to promote it in those places whether they were to be sent. Whereas for King James his Title, he prefers several others before it, and tells us, † I have not found very many in England that favour it: meaning sure of your Catholicks, with whom his converse chiefly was; and concerning whom he gives this remarkable testimony, that

* Camden Eliz.
1588.

† Cardinal Allen's admonition.

P. Watson's
Quodl. p. 140.
and 147.

* Camden Eliz.
Anno 1589.

Watson's Quodl.
P. 150.

† Camden Ib.
Anno 1593.

Watson, Ib. p.
154.

* Camden Ib.
Anno 1594.

Daleman's Conference about the next succession to the Crown.

† Daleman.
part. 2. p. 9.

* Camden Ib.
1602.

Watson, Ib. p.
279.

† Daleman, Ib.
p. 109.

** the Catholicks make little account of his Title by newsmen's of Suc-^cession. * lb. p. 110.*

We have reason to believe he did not wrong them, because when an answer was written to his Book, † the Arch-^{† was in, lb.} Priest Blackwel would not suffer it to be published. And p. 107. your next Head-Officer, the Provincial of the Jesuites, * de-^{Tortura Torti.} clared he would have nothing to do with King James his Title: and 'twas the common voice of the men of his Order, that * if King James would turn Catholick, they would follow him; * was in lb. p. 197. but if not, they would all dye against him. 150.

Which pious Resolutions were seconded with agreeable Actions. For they endeavoured, as far as Catholicks are obliged by their principles, viz. as far as they durst and were able; at first, to hinder him from coming in, and afterwards to throw him out again or to destroy him in the place, as we shall have occasion to shew you in the answer to the next Paragraph.

The mean while out of this present discourse, in which you cannot deny any thing that is material to our purpose; It appears that this *hard question of Right to the Crown*, was not between the Parties themselves in one or t'other of whom you confels the *right* was. It appears that your Infallible Judge of Controversies very easily and impartially resolv'd it, by denying both sides of the question, and assuming the whole *right* to himself. It appears that your Catholicks, who are said to have sided with one against the other, did in truth side with the Pope against them both. And lastly it appears that their *misdemeanors* were inexcusable Treasons, if any Treason can be inexcusable that is befriended with such an Apologist.

[*'Twas for the Royal House of Scotland that they suffered in those days; and 'tis for the same illustrious Family we are ready to hazard all on any occasion.*]

Sir, we have found you notoriously False in that which you Affirm: Pray God you prove True in that which you Promise.

[*Nb.*

[Nor can the consequence of the former procedure be but ill, if a Henry VIII. (whom Sir W. Raleigh, and my Lord "Cherbury," two famous Protestants, have so homely Characteriz'd) should after twenty yeares collaboration turn away his wife, and this out of scruple of Conscience (as he said) when as History declares that he never spared woman in his Lust, nor man in his Fury.]

This Character would better agree with many a Head of a Church whom we could name you, than with Henry VIII. of whom better * Historians speak better things. But if he were such a Monster as you would make him, perhaps it was for want of a better Religion, for he was perfectly of Yours, except only in the point of Supremacy. And you had no occasion for this flurt at him: unless, that having undertaken to put the best colours upon Treason, you might think you did something towards it in bawpatering of Kings.

^{27. Titu. Hist.}
^{1. 1.}
^{1 Philopater, p.}
^{308. and 313.}
^{Et v. Titu. lb.}

We have a touch of the same Art in the next Paragraph. Where having undertaken to excuse the Gun-Powder-Treason, you call it first a *Misdemeanor*, then the *Fifth of November*, and then a *Conjuratiō*; soft words all of them: but you deal wicked hardly with the great *Admister* of State, whom you make to have been the Author of it; as if the Traitors had not conspired against the State, but the State against them.

But before we come to answer this, it will be needful to set down the story, as it appears out of the Examinations and Confessions of the Traitors themselves.

The rise of this Treason, was from the before-mentioned *Brevs* of Pope Clement VIII. in which he required all his Catholicks, that after the death of that wretched Woman Queen Elizabeth, they should admit none but a Catholick to reign over them. These *Brevs* were by *Gardes* the Provincial of the Jesuites communicated to *Catesby* and others; who in Obedience thought best to begin their Practiēces in her life time. So they sent Father *Tesmund* and *Winter* into Spain to crave the assistance of that Crown. The Spaniard sent them back with the promise of an Army. But soon after Queen Elizabeth died, and no Army came. Therefore again

again they sent *Christopher Wright* into Spain to hasten it, and *Stanley* out of Flanders sent *Fawks* thither upon the same errand; who finding the Counsellors of Spain at this time wholly enclined to peace, returned quietly back, and brought nothing but despair along with them.

Yet the Breves had so wrought upon *Catesby*, that he could not finde in his heart to give over; but still casting about for wayes, he hit upon this of the Powder-Treason, which as being much out of the common Rode, he thought the most secure for his purpose. He communicated this to *Winter*, who approved it, and fetcht *Fawks* out of Flanders to assist in it. Not long after *Piercy* being in their company, and offering himself to any service for the Catholick Cause, though it were even the Kings Death: *Catesby* told him, that that was too poor an Adventure for him: but, saith he, if thou wilt be a Traitor, there is a Plot of greater advantage, and such a one as can never be discovered. Thus having duly prepar'd him, he took him into the Conspiracy. And the like he did with so many more as made up their Number 13 of the Laity.

But where were the Jesuites all the while? not idle, you may be sure. The Provincial *Garnet* was privy to it from the beginning, so were divers *more of the Society. Info- * *Baldwin, Hammond, Telf-*
much that when *Watson* endeavour'd to have drawn them in-
to his Plot, (for the setting up of the Lady *Arbella's* Title, in opposition to King *James* his) they declin'd it, * saying, *named by the*
They had another of their own then afoot, and that they would not Conspirators,
mingle designs with him for fear of hindering one another. as privy with
them.

But *Watson* miscarried with his Plot, and the Jesuites were on with theirs. They absolv'd the Conspirators of the Guilt, and extenuated the Danger of their design; they perswaded them how highly Beneficial it would be in the Consequences of it; they gave them their Oath, by the Holy Trinity and the Sacrament which they did then receive, that none of them should reveal it to any other, or with-draw himself from it without common consent: and for the pitiful scruple of destroying the Innocent with the Guilty, *Garnet* answered, they might lawfully do it in order

to.

to a greater good. Yet it seems there was a spark of Humanity in some of them, which the Divinity of this Casuist had not quite extinguisht; as appear'd, either by the absenting of some Lords that were afterward fined for it in the Star-Chamber, or certainly by that Letter of warning to my Lord *Monteagle*, which was the happy occasion of the Discovery of the whole Treason.

In *Warwickshire*, where the Princess *Elizabeth* then was, they had appointed a meeting, under the pretence of a Hunting-March, to seize upon her, the same day in which the King and his Male Issue were to have been destroyed. There met about fourscore of them, which was a number sufficient for that business. But the news of the Discovery coming among them, they were so dismayed at it, that they desisted from their enterprize, and fled into *Staffordshire*; where, the Countrey being raised against them, they were some of them kill'd, and the rest taken; and those which were alive of the prime Conspirators were sent up to *London*, and there Executed.

This is the plain story, now let us see how you colour it.

[Now for the Fifth of November; with hands lifted up to Heaven, we abominate and detest,]

What is it that you *abominate and detest*? That day which is the Festival of our Deliverance? We can believe you without *your hands lifted up to Heaven*. Or mean you the Treason which was to have been acted upon that day? why then do you not speak out and call it so? For if you cannot afford to call it Treason, it is not the *lifting up of your hands* that can make us believe you do heartily *abominate and detest* it.

[And from the bottom of our hearts say, that may they fall into irrecoverable Perdition, who propagate the Faith by the Blood of Kings, which is to be planted in truth and necessity only.]

It was a good caution of a Philosopher to the Son of a
com-

common Woman, that he should not throw stones among a multitude, for fear of hitting his Father. You might have had that caution when you threw out this curse; for your Father the Pope stands fairest for it of all men that we know in the world.

[But let it not displease you, Men, Brethren, and Fathers, if we ask whether *Ulysses* be no better known? or who hath forgot the Plots of *Cromwel* framed in his Closet; not only to destroy many faithful Cavaliers, but also to put a Curse upon his Intelligence, as if nothing could be done without his knowledge. Even so did the then great Minister, who drew some few desperadoes into this conspiracy, and then discovered it by a Miracle.]

Having spit and wip't your mouth, now you make your speech. And it begins with a mixture of *Aposle* and *Pur*; to shew what we are to expect from you; namely, with much Gravity, much Fiction: and so far you do not go about to deceive us.

The scope of your speech is to make the world believe that your Catholicicks were drawn into this Plot by Secretary *Cecil*. You are so wise, that you do not offer to Prove this; but you would steal it into us by an Example, that we are concerned in. As *Cromwel* trepann'd many faithful Cavaliers, even so *Cecil* drew in some few desperadoes. Comparisons (they say) are odious: but to the business.

First, admitting your Fiction, as if it were true, that *Cecil* did draw in those wretches into this Treason. Was it ever the less Treason because He drew them into it? For, according to your own supposition, they did not Know that they were drawn in by him. But they verily thought that they had followed their own Guides; and they zealously did according to their own Principles. They did, what they would have done, if there had been no *Cecil* in the world; provided there had been a Devil in his room, to have put it into their heads. For your excuse only implies, that they had not the Wit to invent it: But their progress in it shews, that they wanted not the Malice to have executed it. So that according to your own illustration: As those faithful Ca-

E

valiers

valiers whom *Cromwel* drew in, had their Loyalty abused, and were nevertheless Faithful still; so those Powder-Traitors whom you say *Cecil* drew in, had their Disloyalty outwitted, and were nevertheless Traitors still. For as well in the one case as in the other, this very thing that they Could be drawn in, is a clear demonstration that they were before-hand sufficiently Disposed for it.

Secondly, when you have considered the absurdity of your excuse for your friends, you may do well to think of an excuse for your Self. For that which you affirm of *Cecil's* having drawn them into this Plot, is a very groundless and impudent Fiction, and you are properly the Author of it. For though others perhaps may have spoken this in rail-lery; yet you are the first, that we know of, that has asserted it in Print.

Pray Sir, whence had you this tale? By what Tradition did you receive it? Or had you some new Revelation of the Causes threescore years after the Fact? For 'tis plain, that

* Ist His Speech
in Parliament.
1605. and his
Relation, &c.
Warrington, p. 7
saith, None
were therein
culpable, but only
Jesuites and
Catholicks.

King James * knew nothing of it. *Belshamin* and his fellow *Apologists* in that Age never pretended it. The parties themselves, neither at their Tryal, nor at their Execution, gave any intimation of it. Can you tell us which of the Conspirators were *Cecil's* Instruments to draw in the rest? or can you think he was so great an Artist, that he could perswade his Setters to be hang'd, that his Art might not be suspected? For 'tis well known that he sav'd not any of those wretches from suffering. And they which did suffer, charged none other, but themselves, in their Confessions. Particularly, Father *Garnet* said, before Doctor *Overal* and divers others, that he would give all the world, if it were his, to clear his Conscience or his Name from that Treason.

*Casaub. Epist.
ad Front. Du-
cun.*

These are strong presumptions of the Negative; but you ought to have proved your Affirmative, or at least to have offered something toward it. For if barely to say this, be enough, then here is an excuse indifferently calculated for all Treasons in the world that miscarry: and (if they prosper, who dares call them Treasons?) Here is a never failing Topick for any one that would write an *Apology* in behalf of any

any Villany whatsoever. For if the Traitors be discover'd by any kinde of accident, this will alwayes remain to be said for them, that *the then great Ministers drew them in.*

But why did you not say this for those Conspiracies in *Queen Elizabeths* dayes? you might have said it perhaps with less improbability. But then you had a higher Game to flyat, namely the *Queens* Title to her Crown; and if you durst have made so bold with King *James* his, you would not have stoopt to so low a Quarry as a Minister of State.

But by the way we cannot but acknowledge, that you Jesuites are a sort of most Obliging Gentlemen. If men will believe what you Say, nothing that you Do can fall amiss. In your attempts against the life of *Queen Elizabeth*, you obliged his Majesty that now is, as being Martyrs for the *Royal House of Scotland*. And in your Plot to blow up that Royal House, you were a kinde of Fellow-sufferers with the *Faithful Cavaliers*; for as they us'd to be trepan'd by *Cromwel*, even so you were drawn in by Secretary *Cecil*.

It is worth observing in this Paragraph, how you Diminish that hellish Plot, by calling them that were engag'd in it a few *Desperadoes*.

The Fewness of them will be considered in your next.

But in what sence do you call them *Desperadoes*? Were they such in respect of their Fortunes? That is so well known to be false, that it needs no Answer. Were they such in respect of their Discontents? that seems to be your Meaning. But there was little Reason for any. For at the time of this Conspiracy, there was none of your Priests in Prison, there was no Mult taken of any Lay-man, Nor was there a man of them, as King *James** said, that could alledge any pretended cause of grief. And yet they were continually
Speech in Parliament, 1635.

This is so far from excusing Them, that it rather gives us occasion of suspecting You.

'Tis no wonder that you, who cannot afford to call this Conspiracy a Treason, are not willing to allow the Discovery of it a *Miracle*. Yet you might have forbore

* 1b.

* *Torture*, p. 85.
Edi. Coln.* *Sixti Orat.*

sing at it, in respect to King * *James* who was pleas'd to Name it so. Especially when his Adversary *Bellarmin* * acknowledges that it was *not without a Miracle of Divine Providence*. And sure our King makes a better use of this word *Miracle* in the thankful acknowledgment of Gods great Mercy in his deliverance; then your Pope * *Sixtus V.* did in his insolent Oration upon the King of *France's* Murder; by which we may guess what some body would have called this Plot if it had Succeeded.

[*This will easily appear, viz. how little the Catholick Party understood the Design, seeing there was not a score of Guilty souls, though all imaginable industry was used by the Commons, Lords, and Privy Council too.*]

The *Design* it self was *understood* but by *Few*, because it was neither safe nor needful to impart it to Many. But the *Papists* generally knew that there was a *Design* in hand; and though they did not know the horrid nature of it, yet many of them pray'd for the success of it: and if the Plot had taken effect, and the Hunting-Match had gone on, we should then have been better able to have judg'd how your *Catholick Party* stood affected toward it. Sure enough though there were but a * *Score* in the *Treason*, yet there appear'd *Fourscore* in the *Rebellion*: and it cannot be imagin'd, that so small a Number could expect, without any other Assistance, to have made any great Advantage by surprizing the *Lady Elizabeth*. But when the *Treason* had miscarried, as hateful as it was, (for who does not hate *Treason* when it is unsuccessful?) yet many of you had a high Veneration for some of those Wretches that were deeply engaged in it. What a Coil here was about the *Miracle* of *Father Garnets* straw? And perhaps you have seen his Picture, and *Gerard's* too among the * *Martyrs* of your Society. Nay his Holiness himself shew'd his good Will to them, when after all this, he made *Tersmand* Penitentiary at *St. Peters* in *Rome*.

* *Jesuites*, *13*
lay-men, *Be-*
ides *Owes* and
Stashy.

* *At La Fliche*,
and elsewhere.

End

[*But suppose my Lords and Gentlemen, (which never can be granted) that all the Papists of that Age were consenting, will you be so severe then, so still punish the Children for the Fathers Faults ?*]

[*Nay such Children that so unanimously joyed with you in that glorious Quarrel, when you and we underwent such sufferings, that needs we must have all sunk, had not our mutual love assisted.*]

You suppose that which is False, to avoid that which is True. For who ever said, that *All the Papists of that Age were Consenting* to the Gun-Powder-Treason? Or who can deny that some Papists in this Age retain the Principles of them that were Consenting to it? Who, although they are not to be Punish'd for what their Predecessors did; yet they ought to be so Restrained, that they may not do like their Predecessors.

And though, by that long word *Unanimously*, you endeavour to shuffle in the men of these Principles, amongst them that served his Majesty in *that glorious Quarrel*: Yet we think it no hard matter to distinguish them. For those among you which did the King Service, are not so many but that they may be Numbred. And as for the rest of you, which Only suffer'd with us, we thank you for your Love, but not for your Assistance. For we could not well have sunk lower than we did. But some of you floated the while like Cork; and others of you swum upon the Bladders of Dispensations. So that as we received no help from you in your Swimming; so we can apprehend no Assurance of you by your Sufferings.

[*What have we done that we should now deserve your Anger? has the indiscretion of some few incensed you? 'tis true, that is the thing objected.*]

Sir, our Anger is only a Necessary Care, that what you now call your Indiscretions, may not grow to be such as you lately call'd your Misdemeanors.

[*Do not you know an Enemy may easily mistake a Mass-Bell for that which calls to Dinner?*]

We

We know he may upon a Fast-day; For then you use to ring your Vesper-Bell before Dinner. And how can a simple Heretick tell; whether it calls you, to Pray, or to eat Fish? But we do not know that ever any of you was brought in trouble about this Question.

[Or a Sequestrator be glad to be affronted being Constable? When 'twas the hatred to his person, and not present Office, which perchance egg'd a rash man to folly.]

Possibly he May be glad of it. For it was your Jesuitical distinction between Person and Office, that first help him to be a *Sequestrator*. And now he sees that Distinction come in play; he may hope, within a while, to have his Place again.

[We dare with submission say, Let a publick invitation be put up against any Party whatsoever: nay, against the Reverend Bishops themselves, and some malicious informer or other will alledge that, which may be far better to conceal.]

[Yet all mankind by a Manifesto on the house door are encouraged to accuse us: nor are they upon Oath, though your Enemies and ours take all for granted and true.]

What an Ambush you have laid here for the Bishops! to have them thought Popish, because you Reverence them; and Obnoxious, in such matters, as (you say) it may be far better to conceal. But as in the one, your Kindeness to them is sufficiently understood. So they are able to defie your Malice in the other. 'Tis for a Bishop of *Divina Olympia's* * to need concealment. Our Bishops in England are of another make, than to hold their Credit at any one's Courtisie.

* V. Her Life.
p. 61. and p.
156, 157.

For the Manifesto that troubled you, what could the Parliament do less, when the complaints of you were great in all parts of the Nation, than to Invite men to bring their grievances to the proper place of Redress? But then say you, men were not upon Oath, for what they said against you. What a Hardship was this? that the House of Commons would

would not do that for Your sakes, which no *House of Commons* ever did upon Any occasion.

[*It cannot be imagined where there's so many men of heat and youth (overjoyed with the happy restoration of their Prince) and remembering the influences of their Grandfathers, that they should all at all times prudently carry themselves; for this would be to be more than men. And truly, we esteem it as a particular blessing, that God hath not suffered many through vanity or frailty to fall into greater faults, than are yet as we understand laid to our charge.*]

The King will never be out of your debt, if a Jesuite may but keep the reckoning. Your old Treasons you put upon the Account of his Family and Friends, and your late Insolencies upon the Score of his most *Happy Restoration*. But would you seriously perswade us, that, at six years distance, *so many men of heat and youth* were still transported with the Joy of that Blessing? That there were some fresher causes of this Jollity, has been vehemently suspected by many, who considered the great Unseasonableness of it, in so calamitous a time, while the Fire was raging in our Metropolis, and a French Army lay hovering upon our Coasts.

[*Can we chuse but be dismay'd (when all things said) that extravagant Crimes are fathered on us.*

It is we must be the Authors (some say) of firing the City, even we that have told so vastly by it: yet in this, our Integrity is great, since we think it no Plea, though our Enemy an Hypocrite Protestant acknowledged the Fact, and was justly Executed for his vain Confession. Again, if a Merchant of the Church of England buy Knives for the business of his Trade; This also is a Popish Contrivance, to destroy the well-affected.]

There can be nothing charged on you, more *extravagant* than those things were, which your Predecessors committed, and which here You have taken upon you to justify or excuse. The Particulars of your Charge, whatsoever they are, we leave to the consideration of the Parliament; where we heartily wish there may appear more Reason on your side, than there is to be found in this *Apology*. For as to the *Firing of the City*, if according to your words (which

we

* Garnet in the
case of the
Powder-Plot.

we have not hitherto found to be Gospel) *you have left so*
vastly by it; yet that will not Acquit you from the suspicion
of the Fact, in the judgment of any one that considers the
Determination of your late *Provincial*, * viz. that it is law-
ful to destroy the Innocent with the Guilty in order to a
greater good. And it seems this *vast loss* goes not near your
Heart; one would think so by your pleasantness in the very
next passage. For there you call *Hulbert your Enemy*, and a
Hugonot Protestant: which *Hulbert*, after Father *Harvey* had
had him at Confession, did indeed affirm himself to be a *Pro-*
testant; but then being askt whether he meant a *Hugonot*
(which it seems was beyond his Instruction to say) he ear-
nestly denied that, as he very well might, for he then also de-
clar'd that he believed Confession to a Priest was necessary
to his salvation: and being admonish'd to call upon God, he
repeated an *Ave-Mary*, which he said was his usual Prayer.
So that it evidently appears, he was neither *Hugonot*, nor
Protestant, nor Your *Enemy* upon any account of Religion.
And yet you, being about to avouch this knot of Falshoods,
are pleas'd to usher them in with this Preface, (either in
Praise of your Brother *Harvey's* pious Fraud, or of your
own Proper Vertue) Truly in this our ingenuity is great.

[We must a little complain, stating it by experience, that by reason you dis-
countenance us, the People rage: and again, because they rage we are the
more forsaken by you.]

[Assured we are, that our Conversation is affable, and our Houses so many
Hospitable receipts to our Neighbours. Our acquaintance therefore we fear at
no time; but it is the stranger we dread: that (taking all on hear say)
zealously wounds, and then examines the business when it is too late, or is
perchance confirmed by another, that knows no more of us than he himself.]

[Tis to you we must make our Applications, beseeching you (as Subjects
under of our King) to intercede for us in the execution, and weigh the Di-
lemma, which doubtless he is in, either to deny so good a Parliament their re-
quests, or else run counter to his Royal Inclinations, when he pursues the
weak and harmless.]

He that complains without cause, must be heard without
redress. We

We only desire to be Safe from those dangers, to which your Principles would expose us, and against which neither *Affableness* nor *Hospitality* will secure us. The Protestants of Ireland were never so treated and caressed by their Popish Neighbors, as they were the very year before they cut their throats.

The best Means of our security, is, that which his Majesty has been pleased to require, *viz.* The discreet Execution of his Laws. By which (if others shall please to distinguish themselves from the rest by renouncing their disloyal Principles) only the disloyal and seditious will be kept weak, that they may be *harmless*.

[*Why may we not, noble Countrymen, hope for favour from you, as well as French Protestants find from theirs? a greater duty than ours none could express, we are sure; or why should the United Provinces, and other Magistrates (that are harsh both in mind and manners) refrain from violence against our Religion, and your tender breasts seem not to harbour the least compassion or pity?*]

[*These barbarous People Sequester none for their Faith, but for Transgression against the State. Nor is the whole Party involved in the Crime of a few, but every man suffers for his own and proper faults. Do you then the like, and be that offends, let him dye without mercy:!*]

[*And think always, I beseech you of Cromwells Injustice: who for the Alliances of some against his pretended Love, drew thousands into decimation, even ignorant of the thing, after they had vastly paid for their security and quiet.*]

We have answer'd your Instances, of the *French Protestants*, and the *Dutch Papists*; and your unjust upbraiding us, with the *greatness* of your duty, and with our want of *compassion* and *pity*. And yet, as if all these were Unanswerable, you come over with them again and again.

These barbarous people, you say, *sequester none for their Faith*; but pray what did you, when you govern'd the *Civiliz'd World*? you hang'd and burn'd men, for no other cause but their Faith; and this you did with abundance of *Civility*; so it seems, we may be worse than *Barbarous*, and yet much better than you.

F

But

But that were little for our credit, unless we had this to say more; that not the worst of you *suffers* any otherwise than by known Laws, or any more than is of pure Necessary. For, we hold it Necessary to maintain the Authority of the King, and the Peace of the Nation. If you call any thing *Religion*, that is contrary to these; must we therefore alter our Laws? or ought you to mend your Religion?

You put the Effigies of *Cromwel* upon any thing that you would render odious; as your Inquisition bedresses one with Pictures of Devils, whom they are about to burn for his Religion. For such Disguizes are apt to work much upon the weak judgments of the multitude. But he must be very weak indeed that cannot perceive the wide Difference, between the Edicts of *Cromwel*, that were design'd to Ruine men for their Loyalty, and those Laws that our Princes have made to Restrain them from Treason and Rebellion.

[We have no other Study, but the glory of our Sovereign and just liberty of the Subjects.]

Sir, if we may judge by your Works, there is *nothing* less studied in your Colledge.

[Nor was it a mean argument of our Duty, when every Catholick Lord gave his voice for the Resurrection of Bishops; by which we could pretend no other advantage, but that 26 Votes (subsisting wholly by the Crown) were added to the defence of Kingship, and consequently a check to all Anarchy and Confusion.]

This is no *Argument* of Your Duty, for, sure, You are no Lord. Nor is it likely that these Lords follow'd Your direction in the doing of this Duty.

[Tis morally impossible but that we who approve of Monarchy in the Church, must ever be fond of it in the State also.]

If you mean this of Papists in General, that which you call *morally impossible* is Experimentally True. For in *Venice*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and the Popish Cantons of *Switzerland*, where they

they very well approve of Monarchy in the Church; yet they are not fond of it in the State also. But if you mean this of the Jesuitical Party, then it may be true in this sense, that you would have the Pope to be sole Monarch both in Spirituals and Temporals.

[Yet this is a misfortune; we now plainly feel, that the longer the late Transgressors live, the more forgotten are their Crimes, while distance in time calls the faults of our Fathers to remembrance, and buries our own Allegiance in eternal oblivion and forgetfulness.]

¶ We can now allow you to complain, and commend your selves without Measure; having prov'd already, that you do it without Cause.

[My Lords and Gentlemen, consider we beseech you the sad condition of the Irish Soldiers now in England; the worst of which Nation could be but intentionally so wicked, as the acted villainy of many English, whom your admired Clemency pardoned. Remember how they left the Spanish Service when they heard their King was in France; and how they forsook the Employment of that unnatural Prince, after he had committed the never to be forgotten Act of banishing his distressed Kinsman out of his Dominions. These poor men left all aim to bring their Monarch to his home: and shall they then be forgotten by you? or shall my Lord Douglas and his brave Scots be left to their Shifts, who scorned to receive wages of those who have declared War against England?]

¶ To swell up the Bill of the Merits of your Party, you rake in the Services of the Irish and Scottish Soldiers, as if they were a part of the English Catholics, whom you profess to plead for in the Title of your Apology. And that you may seem to have done this, in kindness to Them, and not to your Selves; you exhort us to Consider them, in such terms, as if You were the first that had ever thought of them. God forbid but they should be consider'd as they deserve; and he is neither good Christian, nor good Subject, that would grudge to contribute his proportion toward it.

But you seem to have a farther drift in the mentioning of these Loyal Irish. For you immediately mingle them with the worst of that Nation; namely with those infamous Butchers, that in times of as great Peace and Liberty as ever

Lord Ormy's
Answer to Walsby
p. 29 saith,
with a few
months about
two hundred
thousand.

that Nation enjoyed, and in the Name of that gracious King under whom they enjoyed these, cut the throats of above an hundred thousand of his Protestant Subjects of all Sexes and Ages. It was so black a villany, that You, the Apologist of such Actions, knew not how to mention it in its proper place, viz. after the French Massacre, because you had not wherewith to colour it. And yet being conscious to your self that this lay as a blot upon your Cause, you thought fit to place it among these brave Men; as if their Names would mend the hue of an Action that will make the Names of all that had to do in it look black and detestable to mankind throughout all Generations.

Nor do you deal much better with our Royallists themselves; of whom you do not stick to affirm, that in their admired Clemency, (and if this were true, who would not admire it?) they pardon'd *Many English*, whose *Albion Villanies* were so wicked, that the *worst of the Irish Nation* could be but *Intentionally* so wicked in their Villanies.

[How commonly it is said that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for those, which will needs bring this loss to the King and you, that either you will force all of our Faith to lay down their Arms (though by experience of great Integrity and Worth) or else, if some few you retain, they are such whom necessity hath made to swear against Conscience, and who therefore will certainly betray you, when a greater advantage shall be offered. By this Test then you can have none, but whom (with Caution) you ought to shun. And thus must you drive away those who truly would serve you; for had they the least thought of being false, they would gladly take the advantage of gain and pay to deceive you.]

You proceed, concerning the *Irish and Scottish Soldiers*, in these words; *How commonly it is said, that the Oath of Renouncing their Religion is intended for them?* Pray Sir, can you tell who are said to intend this? For if they are such as have no Authority, it is frivolous. If they are such as have Authority, it is false. And we do verily believe it was never said, wisht, or thought of, by any one that lov'd the King, and the peace of the Nation.

But what trick had this Jesuite in his head when he fram'd this? One may guess at his design; But let it pass. Perhaps

happi he only imagined this, to heighten his Fancy, that he might think and write the more Tragically toward the end of his Oration.

[We know your Wisdom and Generosity, and therefore cannot imagine such a thing; nor do we doubt when you shew favour unto these, but you will use mercy to us, who are both your fellow subjects, and your own flesh and blood also, if you forsake us we must say the world decays, and its final transmutation must needs follow quickly.]

Here you un-imagin for the Souldiers, and imagin for your self: and, as if you really thought your self in danger, you beg for mercy of the Royallists, in such words as your Predecessor * us'd to the Rebels. Only for the last strain, * First Moderate, p. 76.

Your own Kindred and Allies, your own Coun-

[Little do you think the infidelities we shall suffer by Complottee-men, &c. tryemen, born to whom chance and lot, hath put into petty power. Nor will it chafe but grieve the same since you to see them abused (whom formerly you loved) even by the common enemy with your selves; who have in Much less measure (then the Scots) offended in matters of Holiness, any divers of them not at all.]

It seems Complottee-men are entrusted with his Majesties Authority; or that none must use it against Papists for fear of being accounted Complottee-men.

less measure (then the Scots) offended in matters of Holiness, any divers of them not at all.

It is time to have done, when we are come to the dregs of your Rhetorick.

[When they punish, how will they triumph and say, take This (poor Romanist) for your loan to Kingship; and again This for your long dating on the Royal Party: all which you shall receive from us Complotteed by your dearest Friends; and under this cloak we will gladly vent our private spleen and malice.]

Sir, though you set your self before to speak Tragically, this does rather seem a piece of Drollery. But you Have your design either way. For no man can read it, but he must either Laugh, or Shake his head.

[We know my Lord and Gentlemen, that from your hearts you do deplore our condition, yet permit us to tell you, your bravery must extend thus far, as not to sit still, with pity only, but each is to labour, for the distressed as far as

he really his ability will reach: Some must beseech our Gracious Sovereign for us, others again must undecieve the good, though deluded multitude: Therefore all are to remember who are the prime vessels of the Storm; and how through our sides they would wound both the King and you: for through their hatred to us our selves is great, yet the enmity out of all measure increases, because we have been yours, and so shall continue even in the fiery day of trial.

Protest us we beseech you then upon all your former promises, or if that be not sufficient for the sakes of those that lost their Estates with you; many of which are now fallen asleep: But if thou be still too weak we must conjure you by the sight of this bloody Catalogue, which contains the names of your murdered Friends and Relations, who in the heat of the Battle perchance saved many of your lives, even with the joyful loss of their own.]

Sir, In answer to this Paragraph, you Oblige us to speak plainer, what before we only intimated to you.

It was the Policy of the Rebels in the beginning of the late War, to harraß the Papists in all parts of the Kingdom. One Reason of it was, to make his Majesty Odious; for the Papists being his Subjects, and having none but him to fly to, it was certain he would do what he could to Protect them, and this would make many Zealous people believe, that what the Rebels pretended was true, viz. that his Majesty was a Friend to Popery. Another Reason was to enrich themselves with their Spoils; and to invite the Needy Rabble with a prospect of Booty; among which, if they found a String of Beads, or a Crucifix, it serv'd them upon both Accounts, both to fill their Pockets, and to justify the Cause.

* Second Model
rator, p. 43.
Most of them in
the beginning of
the late War
(seeing them-
selves unpro-
tected by the
Parliament and
exposed to the
plunder of the
then Souldiers)
 fled into the
King's Garri-
sons, to save
their own lives,
without taking
up Arms to of-
fend others.

By this Means you were driven into his Majesties Garri-
sons, where, besides those that Voluntarily offer'd them-
selves to his Service, many of you were Necessitated to it
for a subsistence, and many more of you did not serve him
at all, but only shrowded your selves under his Protection.
Whereas the Protestant Royallists had no such Necessary,
for they might have been Welcome to the Rebels, to do
as They did; or they might have been Permitted to live
quietly at their home. But they chose to do otherwise,
and were hated the more for it by the Rebels, because
they prefer'd their duty before those Considerations.

From

From this Account of the Motives that brought us together, it is easie to Judge how far we are in Debt to one another.

First, As for them which *lost their Estates* with us, We remember those things were alledged in their defence, * *Second Moderator, p. 43.* which we would have been loth to have admitted in ours. But possibly it was not their Fault that these things were Alledg'd, nor was it to our Advantage that they were not Accepted. For the Rebels, having devour'd these Gentlemens Estates, fell to ours, with the more Colour, and with never the less Appetite.

In your Catalogue of those Papists which were Slain in the Service, you have Omitted some names which we are able to Reckon. But perhaps you did this in Design, that you might the more excusably Reckon some names that you ought to have Omitted. So you begin with my Lord of *Carnarvon*, the only Nobleman in your Catalogue, who was indeed too Negligent of his Religion, till he came to be in view of Death; But then, in his extremities, he Refus'd a Priest of yours, and Ordered the Chaplain * of his Regiment to pray with him. If you take this liberty of stealing Martyrs, we have Reason to wonder, that you had not taken in, one that would have Adorn'd your Cause indeed, *viz.* his Majesty himself; since *Militiere* * was not a- * *Mr. Langford: In his Vindication of Truth,* sham'd to publish, that that Blessed and Glorious Prince died of your Religion. Him alone we might weigh against All that ever was good in your Church. But besides, we could reckon you a far greater number of Protestants, than you pretend to do of Papists, that *lost their Lives* also in the Day of Battle. They lost them joyfully, in hopes to have sav'd his Majesty's Life; and 'twas an Accession to their Joy, if perchance they sav'd any of yours.

But did they ever intend their sufferings should go for nothing, or become Ciphers to yours in the day of Reckoning? or that their blood should be made use of to stop the Execution of those Laws for which they shed it? Did they think your condition was so deplorable, or their own was superfluously fenced and secured against you before the late troubles?

Pray

Very little more than an unbelieveable thing so incredible, as to do as the great God would believe in. Rather if you have such an opinion of your own Faculty; Try what you can do with your own Party, and persuade them to do what is fittest and best for Themselves.

But beside the Genius of your Writing does not give us any such Hopes of You: We shall rather make bold to say something from our selves, by way of Advice, to as many of them as may happen to need it, and are capable to receive it.

We desire them to Content themselves with that condition which they enjoy'd under his Majesties Royal Predecessors: and neither to Disparage those days, by endeavouring to persuade the world that they which suffered then for Titus did for Religion; Nor to Undervalue all the Liberties which they now Enjoy, if they may not be allow'd to Exceed the Measures of their Fathers. We wish they would not, for the parsing of their nails, make all Christendom ring with Cries of Persecution. We wish them deeply to lay to Heart, the Honor, and Peace, and Welfare of their Nation. To abhor him, that could wish to set it in Troubles, in hope that at next Turn it would settle in Popery; or that could finde in his heart to bid a Forreigner welcome upon the terms of restoring Catholick Religion. We desire them to keep their Religion to themselves: and not lay about them, as some do, to make Profelytes; of which they have had a plentiful harvest in the late Confusions; and if they should think to go on at that rate, we have reason to fear it would be a means to bring us into Confusion again. We desire them at least not to abuse the weakness of dying persons: nor under pretence of carrying Alms to condemned Prisoners, to Convert some of them with Drink, and to Cheat others with hopes of Salvation upon easier terms than ever God yet declar'd unto Men. We desire them not to hinder the course of Justice, by interposing in the behalf of any Criminal, because he is a Catholick. We desire them to content themselves, as their Fathers have done, with such Priests as are known and protected by the Civil Power; and that They would be pleas'd to demean themselves as Priests ought to do: not disguising themselves like Hectors, or mingling with Gentlemen, to poison the Clubs and Coffee-Houses with Phanasick Discourses, or even with Atheism it self, to destroy all Religion that they may have their will upon ours. We desire them not to fill the World with their Pamphlets, *Parallels*, *Philanexes*, *Exhortations*, *Apologies*, &c. which tend only to the fermenting of Mens Passions, not at all to the conviction of their Reason. If they please to come into the fair Field of Controversie, we shall not decline them; and we think we are not in Debt to them upon that Account. Not for Books of the other sort which are apt only to inflame Parties, and make the People Jealous, and the Government Uneasie, We wish they would spare their Owp pains, and consequently Ours. If they will not; let them bear their own blame, and let them Answer it to the world what Occasion they had to give us this trouble of Answering them.

D. of Medina
in 88. said, his
Sword knew no
distinction be-
tween Catho-
lick and Here-
tick.

* V. Cambden's
Eliz. 1601.

FINIS.

